

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 IO-13 SAJ-01 /081 W  
-----211138Z 126306 /12

R 211027Z JAN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4935  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USLO PEKING  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 1010

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, JA, CH  
SUBJECT: CONTRETEMPS OVER GOJ'S "FOUR POINTS" AND PRC TREATY

REF: TOKYO 0649

SUMMARY. COMMENTS OF CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY SONODA ON  
OCCASION OF KOMEITO CHAIRMAN TAKEIRI'S TRIP TO PRC APPEARED  
TO DISASSOCIATE FUKUDA GOVERNMENT FROM GOJ'S EARLIER FOUR  
POINTS ON INCLUSION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT. EM-  
BARASSED BY SONODA'S APPARENT MISSTATEMENT OF POLICY, FONOFF  
HAS ATTEMPTED TO MAINTAIN FOUR POINTS AS BASIC POLICY. FOR  
MOMENT FONOFF APPEARS TO HAVE PREVEAILED, BUT POSITION MAY  
ERODE UNDER DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURE. END SUMMARY.

1. PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR SIX DAY VISIT TO PEKING,  
CGP (KOMEITO) CHAIRMAN YOSHIKATSU TAKEIRI MET WITH PRIMIN  
FUKUDA JANUARY 18 AT LATTER'S INVITATION TO RECEIVE MESSAGE  
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EXPRESSING FUKUDA'S PERSONAL DESIRE FOR EARLY PEACE AND  
FRIENDSHIP TREATY TO BE CONVEYED TO CHINESE. DURING  
MEETING, TAKEIRI ASKED WHETHER NEW FUKUDA GOVERNMENT WOULD  
CONTINUE TO STAND BY THOSE FOUR CONDITIONS EARLIER PRO-  
POUNDED BY FORMER FONMIN MIYAZAWA FOR JAPANESE AGREEMENT TO  
INCORPORATION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT. FUKUDA  
APPARENTLY CHOSE NOT TO REPLY, BUT CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY

SONODA OBSERVED THAT MIYAZAWA'S "FOUR POINTS" WERE "NEITHER OUR PRINCIPLES NOR OUR CONDITIONS. THEY ARE MIYAZAWA'S PERSONAL VIEWS." (FOUR POINTS AS EXPRESSED TO CHIAO KUAN-HUA IN SEPTEMBER 1975 STIPULATED THAT INCLUSION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT BE INTERPRETED AS (1) GENERALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, (2) IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN CHARTER, (3) DIRECTED AT NO THIRD COUNTRY, AND (4) BEARING NO LEGAL OBLIGATIONS OR FUTURE COMMITMENTS ON PART OF JAPAN.)

2. TAKEIRI AND VARIOUS REPORTERS APPARENTLY READ SONODA'S STATEMENT AS TRIAL BALLOON FOR MORE FORTHCOMING GOJ POLICY ON PFT (PRESS REPORTS FROM PEKING REPORT THAT TAKEIRI HAS ALREADY INFORMED CHINESE THAT GOJ HAS SHELVED FOUR POINTS). VICE FONMIN SATO, HOWEVER, EXPLAINED TO REPORTERS ON BACKGROUND JANUARY 19 THAT WHILE FOUR POINTS SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS "RIGID CONDITIONS," THEY WERE, NEVERTHELESS, "NOT JUST THE PERSONAL VIEWS OF THEN FONMIN MIYAZAWA; THEY ARE THE VIEWS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND REMAIN UNCHANGED." SATO WENT ON TO NOTE THAT ALTHOUGH SPECIFIC LANGUAGE OF FOUR POINTS NEED NOT BE INCORPORATED IN PFT, THEIR "SPIRIT SHOULD BE REFLECTED" IN FINAL PFT DRAFT.

3. AS EXPLAINED BY FONOFF CHINA DEPDIR IKEDA TO EMBOFF, GOJ DID NOT EXPECT ANY PROGRESS ON PFT DURING PRESENT LEADERSHIP CRISIS IN CHINA. AT PRESENT, PARTY CENTER IN PEKING PROBABLY HAD NIETHER TIME NOR ENERGY TO DEVOTE TO EXTERNAL RELATIONS WITH JAPAN, LET ALONE SUFFICIENT POLITICAL WILL TO DEMONSTRATE FLEXIBILITY ON ANTI-HEGEMONY

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QUESTION. AT SAME TIME, WITHIN JAPAN THERE WAS NO SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL NEED FOR FUKUDA TO MAKE MAJOR EFFORT FOR PFT IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE. IN THIS SITUATION, FONOFF SOUGHT TO DOWN-PLAY FOUR POINTS -- DESCRIBING THEM NOT AS RIGID PRE-CONDITIONS FOR CHINESE BUT RATHER AS CAREFULLY CONSIDERED GUIDELINES FOR INTERPRETATION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE. IKEDA SUGGESTED THAT WHILE THERE WOULD BE POSSIBILITY OF COMPROMISE ON FOUR POINTS ONCE SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHINESE RESUMED, FOR PRESENT FONOFF SAY NO ADVANTAGE IN MODIFYING THEM.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 1010

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR TEXT

GRM CONSEQUENTLY, SONODA'S COUXENTS ON FOUR POINTS WERE CLEARLY EMBARRASSMENT TO FONOFF BY RAISING ISSUE BEST LEFT UNTOUCHED. IN IKEDA'S WORDS, SONODA'S STATEMENT HAD BEEN "ERRONEOUS AND AWKARD -- BUT WE COULD NOT JUST SAY HE WAS WRONG." ACCORDING WELL-INFORMED FONOFF SOURCE, FONMIN HATOYAMA CHOSE NOTTOCONFRONT SONODA DIRECTLY ON ISSUE BUT SONODA NEVERTHELESS PAID CONFIDENTIAL CALL ON VICE FONMIN SATO TO APOLOGIZE FOR MISSTATEMENT. SUBSEQUENT STATEMENTS BY SONODA TO PRESS DID LITTLE TO CLARIFY PRECISE NATURE OF FOUR POINTS, BUT DID NOTE THAT CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY'S VIEWS ON QUESTION WERE "COMPLETELY IN ACCORD WITH THAT OF FOREIGN MINISTRY."

5. IKEDA NOTED THAT ALTHOUGH PFT NEGOTIATIONS REMAINED EFFECTIVELY DEADLOCKED, JAPANESE PRESS, WHICH ABHORRED ANY STATIC SITUATION, PERIODICALLY GENERATED SPECULATIVE  
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ARTICLES PURPORTING TO REVEAL DIPLOMATIC MOVEMENT WHEN IN REALITY THERE WAS NONE. MEDIA, HE OBSERVED, TENDED TO DESCRIBE FAILURE TO NEGOTIATE PFT AS SERIOUS DIPLOMATIC PROBLEM, WHEN IN FACT BOTH COUNTRIES WERE RELATIVELY COMFORTABLE WITH PRESENT RELATIONS DESPITE LACK OF PFT -- "ALTHOUGH WE CANNOT ADMIT THIS PUBLICLY."

6. AT SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THERE WAS DOMESTIC POLITICAL

NEED, IN PART PRODUCED BY THIS PRESS PLAY, TO DEMONSTRATE SOME FORM OF PROGRESS. SPECIAL MESSAGE OF GOODWILL GIVEN BY FUKUDA TO KOMEITO'S TAKEIRI WAS ESSENTIALLY IDENTICAL TO THAT CARRIED TO PEKING EARLIER IN MONTH BY LDP ELDER KENZO KONO AND LIKELY TO HAVE SAME UNPRODUCTIVE RESULT. NEVERTHELESS, IKEDA EXPLAINED, USE OF VARIOUS PARTY LEADERS AS SPECIAL EMISSARIES TO PEKING SERVED POLITICAL PURPOSE OF CASTING FUKUDA IN ROLE OF CONCERNED STATESMAN WHILE FLATTERING SUCH POLITICIANS AS TAKEIRI. AS NOTED BY OTHER FONOFF OFFICIAL, IT WAS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT CABINET SECRETARY SONODA, EVER CONSCIOUS OF PROTECTING PRIMIN'S POLITICAL IMAGE AND OF APPROACHING UPPER HOUSE ELECTIONS, CHOSE TO COMMENT ON FOUR POINTS IN APPARENT EFFORT TO PORTRAY FUKUDA AS MORE LIBERAL ON CHINA THAN PREVIOUSLY PORTRAYED IN PRESS.

7. COMMENT. ABOVE ACCOUNT PRIMARILY REFLECTS FONOFF VIEW WHICH MAY BE COLORED BY INCREASING ANNOYANCE AMONG JAPANESE DIPLOMATS WITH SONODA'S RECENT STATEMENTS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS FIELD. WHILE WE DOUBT WHETHER SONODA WOULD ACT AGAINST FUKUDA'S WISHES, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT HIS COMMENTS REJECTING FOUR POINTS AS GOJ POLICY WERE MORE EXPLICIT THAN INTENDED. FOR TIME BEING, FONOFF APPEARS TO HAVE PREVAILED IN MAINTAINING FOUR POINTS AS POLICY ON PFT. WHETHER FONOFF WILL BE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO DO SO UNDER INCREASING DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURE AS UPPER HOUSE ELECTIONS APPROACH, REMAINS TO BE SEEN.

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## Message Attributes

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